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PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, 30,152,131 war and famine refugees were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were also active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of wartime conditions.[2] For women and children, there was the National Association for Refugee Children; also, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's Advisory Council. For servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work there were the China Wartime Relief Association and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through different mediums, also helped to aid China in her distress.

The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department

1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.
2. Ibid.

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under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940's, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in Central-South China.[3]

RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN CENTRAL-SOUTH JUNE 1947

[See following page for chart.]

3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

Province	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Societies	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies	
					Independent	Auxiliary
Kiangsi	411	29	285	75	20	16
Hupeh	17	171	35	7	1	
Hunan	169	25	153	121	20	19
Honan	157	12	142	44	17	17
Kwangtung	231	5	135	153	58	57
Kwangsi	133	52	47	9	2	1
Total	1118	294	797	409	118	110

On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level was established in January 1945, as was the Chinese office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and the rehabilitation of postwar China.[4]

4. China Handbook, 1937-1945, pp. 538-41.

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Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the Mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been perverted and subverted by the Communists. 746

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines which began in the rural districts and spread throughout the nation. An anti-Communist source has given the following estimate of the number of people adversely affected since 1949 by national calamities, climaxed by the great flood of 1954. 731

1949	60,000,000
1950	38,000,000
1951	28,000,000
1952	33,000,000
1953	47,000,000
1954	180,000,000

No region has escaped entirely from these disasters. If there are differences between them, it is only a matter of degree.

As if these natural calamities were not disastrous enough, the people on the China Mainland suffered further abuse from man-made adversities,

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termed "without parallel in history."[7] The most devastated area was in the middle of the Yangtze River Valley, particularly Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi.

The Land Reform Movement in Central-South China was begun in 1950 and all but completed in 1952. In 1953 a re-investigation was ordered. As a result, 23,000 more landowners were purged. Of this number, about 5,000 were put to death, and the remaining 18,000 either went to jail or to "Reform-through-labor" camps. A large number of landowners were victims of land reform in the Central-South during 1950-53.[8]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, has been in name only, according to an anti-Communist report, and it is

7. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 962, Jan. 6, 1955, pp. 18-20.

8. Ch'ih K'ung-pu-hsia Ti Hu-pei [Hupeh Under Red Terror], 6th Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1954, pp. 16-20.

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asserted that they have accomplished little relief work.[9] 746 •

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Conference in April 1950, the People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor of the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. It was reported four years later that twenty-three large cities throughout China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In the Central-South Region, branch offices have been established in the cities of Chengchow and Kaifeng in Honan Province, in Wuhan in Hupeh Province, in Canton in Kwangtung Province, and in Changsha in Hunan Province. A special provincial branch office was also set up for Kwangtung in addition to the branch in Canton.[10] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work reported to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[11]

9. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6, published in Taipei, lists all of the welfare organizations described in this study. Reference to the same organizations are to be found in Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], 1955, a Communist source.

10. Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1955 [People's Handbook 1955], Tientsin, 1955, pp. 396-397.

11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 6-8.

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Due to the danger of growing unemployment, the Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administration Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established by August of the same year. Later, similar committees were formed on lower administration levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[12] 746

The Red Cross Society of China has had a history of fifty years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially in construction projects where large numbers of laborers congregated. In Central-South China, the Communists have undertaken such major construction projects as the harnessing of the Hwai River, conservation work along the Yellow River in Honan Province, and the water works on Tungting Lake, in addition to numerous minor projects. To these projects the Red Cross sent medical and epidemic-prevention corps to guard the health of the battalions of laborers.[13] Among the minority nationalities, especially in Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces and on Hainan Island, the Communist Red Cross Society sent medical service teams.[14] (See study on Health and Sanitation.) 746 747

11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 6-8.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. Ibid., p. 10.
14. Ibid., p. 8.

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In June 1938, during the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded in Hong Kong by Soong Ching-ling. It acted as a channel for international aid chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950).[15] Its center of activity has been in Shanghai. Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bi-monthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

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The Chinese People's National Committee for the Protection of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 at Peking in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of the Chinese organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The principles of this committee, which include the promotion of child welfare, were defined as "anti-imperialism" and "the promotion of world peace."[16]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and moved it to Peking. In

15. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

16. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 396.

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August 1953, a conference of the workers was called and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. More than 100 tuberculosis-prevention units throughout the country are said to be affiliated with this organization.[17]

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IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

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During the convention of the National People's Congress in Peking in September 1954, Hsieh Chüeh-tsai, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Chinese Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the stand and policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting relief work. The first effort was to mobilize the broad masses to work in the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and floods. Secondly, when disaster struck, the people were expected to adopt measures to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual aid." Only when absolutely necessary would the government proffer outright relief.[18]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize how the Communist interprets certain common terms. The word relief, although generally taken

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17. Ibid., pp. 397-98.
18. Ibid., pp. 211-12.

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to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need," [19] to the Communists carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help-through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. From this the Chinese Communists have not deviated. As a matter of fact, most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroad lines have drawn upon famine refugees who thus are expected to pay by labor for government efforts to prevent starvation.[20]

About the middle of 1950 the Chinese Communist government at Peking issued several documents concerning relief work. In the cities the problem of increasing unemployment was pressing, and in rural areas famine was serious. Among the five large cities in which the problem of unemployment was most serious, two were in the Central-South Region, namely Wuhan and Canton.[21] The central provinces of Hupeh and Hunan and the southern provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi were among those most severely stricken by famines. The municipalities of Wuhan and Canton were directed to form relief committees and unemployment relief bureaus. A set of provisions for the relief of the unemployed was promulgated by the People's Government in Peking.[22] (See chapter on Labor.) The unemployed were ordered to register. Following a central government directive, they were

19. Fairchild, H. P., Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams, 1955, p. 255.

20. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 9-12.

21. Kan-pu Hsüeh-hsi Tzu-liao Ti Shih-erh-chi [Cadres' Study Materials No. 12,] Communist Party, Central Committee, South China Bureau, Canton, 1950, pp. 40-51.

22. Ibid, p. 51.

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given work rather than direct relief under the policy of "self-help-through-production," re-direction of workers into fields offering greater opportunity for employment, and return to rural areas to assist in agricultural production. Outright re-/23 lief was the least significant clause in the scheme. Generally speaking, the same principles were applied to rural relief programs in combating natural calamities. Under the slogan of "famine-relief-through economy," the people were advised to economize, "to substitute unprocessed food for processed foods," to use ersatz foods, and to /24 adulterate grain, presumably with leaves and bark.

When a progress report on the municipality of Wuhan was made in September 1952, it was announced that 59, 328 unemployed persons had registered. By the end of August 1952, the report continued, 34, 146 persons had obtained work. During the same period, only 771 persons received long-term direct relief, and 4, 560 received temporary relief. The total amount of direct relief distributed by the municipal government amounted to JMP$5, 956, 140, 833 (about US$270, 000), constituting 22. 9 per cent of total relief funds alloted for the three-year period.[25]

In order to substitute work for relief, many construction projects -- water conservation, road building, sewage systems, the excavating and transporting of rocks and gravel -- were undertaken in the Wuhan area. To prepare the unemployed

23. Ibid., pp. 52-60.
24. Ibid., p. 50.
25. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Wuhan, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

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for new work in the period 1950-52, some 21 training centers were established and 6,196 young people were trained, although only 3,634 of this number found employment. In the three-year period, 21,149 persons obtained work through government recommendation, and of this number 80 per cent were put to work in textile factories.[26]

On the problem of labor and employment, the chief of the Bureau of Labor of Kwangtung Province reported in September 1952 that in two years' time 53,724 persons, including unemployed intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese, were benefited by relief measures and by government assistance in obtaining work. It was claimed that the provincial government spent JMP$2,760,000,000 (about US$123,633) for relief and distributed over 4,000,000 pounds of grain. At the time of the report, the Kwangtung provincial government hoped to solve the problem of unemployment in forty-seven urban areas (with a population of over 10,000,000) by advising the jobless to seek work in the rural districts.[27]

In 1954, the China Mainland was stricken by flood.[28] The areas most affected were the northern provinces of the Central-South Region, Hupeh Hunan, and Kiangsi, along the Yangtze River and around Lake Tungting. In Wuhan alone, 100,000 people were mobilized to fight the flood.[29] From July 8 to September 24, 1954, it was said, 1,616

26. Ibid.

27. Nan-fang Jih-pao [South China Daily], Canton, Sept. 22, 1952, p. 3.

28. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 6, 1955, p. 1.

29. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, July 19, 1954.

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One American-supported orphanage in Wuchang was accused of killing 16,000 Chinese children in the twenty-three years of its existence. The total number of relief organizations in China receiving foreign subsidy (largely from the United States) which were taken over by the Communists in 1951 was 246, with a total of 18,000 inmates. Of the organizations, 159 were designated as child welfare organizations.[43]

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

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In Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been given serious attention. Concern for the welfare of armed forces' members and families was specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the earliest documents adopted by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and of members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in revolutionary war, providing them with the means of livelihood or occupation."[44] However, the nation-wide campaign did not begin until late 1950, which indicates that the activity was probably the result of the warfare in Korea.[45] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime promulgated five sets of regulations relating to compensation for dependents of servicemen. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" →

43. Yangtze Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

44. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

45. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, p. 18.

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and servicemen; preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers injured or killed, and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service injured or killed.[46] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included land and farming implements, government scholarships for their children, lower prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

At the time of the lunar new year in 1951, which fell on February 6 in that year, the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the People's Liberation Army. Since then, the lunar new year, usually called the Spring Festival, and Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made the occasions for honoring the families of servicemen.

As part of the program to aid the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen, those in the city able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; in the rural areas, for those unable to work, a system of substitute-tilling has been adopted whereby land owned by such dependents is cultivated for them.

The Central South Military and Political Committee in its annual report of 1951-52 announced oustand-

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46. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

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ing achievements in the program to aid the families of "martyrs" and servicemen. The committee claimed to have distributed JMP$60,000,000,000 (approximately US$2,700,000) either as relief or in the form of loans. The people, said the report, were also encouraged to offer preferential treatment to the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen. In 38 counties in Honan, a fixed system of substitute-tilling was carried out. In the I-yang county of Kiangsi, an area which had formed a part of the old base of the Chinese Soviet, 833 substitute-tilling groups were organized, and the land of 1,834 families of "martyrs" was cultivated. In the cities, it was claimed, the local governments on various levels helped many members of such families to take part in production and to secure employment. In 15 large and medium cities of Central-South China (Chengchow, Kaifeng, and Chou-chia-k'ou in Honan, Wuhan, Sha-shih, I-ch'ang and Huang-shih in Hupeh, Changsha and Heng-yang in Hunan, Nanchang in Kiangsi, Canton in Kwangtung, and Nanning, Liu-chou, Kweilin and Wuchou in Kwangsi), 29 small factories were set up for the employment of a large number of dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen. In these cities and also some counties in Central-South China, 29,697 dependents obtained employment through the recommendation of their local governments. Special schools and scholarships were set up for their children. In the three municipalities of Wuhan, Canton, and Nanchang, according to the same report, 21,217 children received free education and 10,322 children of "martyrs" and servicemen received free medical care.[47]

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47. Enlightenment Daily, July 29, 1952, p. 2.

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According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and co-operatives, and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or to village cadres.[48] The People's Daily (Jan. 25, 1955) reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954. The same paper (Jan. 24, 1955) also reported that there was a 20 per cent increase in the number of families of servicemen joining mutual-aid groups and co-operatives in 1954 over the number in 1953. In Central-South China, statistics from 1,638 villages in 22 counties in Hupeh Province showed that of 24,039 servicemen's families, 15,099, or over 63 per cent, were participating in mutual-aid groups and co-operative organizations.

VII. CONCLUSION

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In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China the emphasis is on production and labor power rather than human life. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save themselves by "self-help-through-production." Even in concern for the welfare of women and children, the chief purpose is labor power. Whereas the humanitarian element prevails in public wel- —>

48. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

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fare in the free world, it is generally lacking in a Communist state In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This Administration is an organization of the people under the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide...relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[49] The key words here are production, economy, labor, and mutual-aid. There is no allusion to the alleviation of suffering or the promotion of the well-being of the people.

When one understands the Communist attitude toward public welfare, it helps one to grasp the overwhelming plight of those within the Soviet orbit who become the victims of calamities. Perhaps no written passage could illuminate the situation so vividly and succinctly as a parable recounted in one of the ancient Chinese classics.

> "In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came upon a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave....'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed....and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave...[this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government

49. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, May 5, 1950, p.1.